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THE NAVIGATOR.

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HENRY HUDSON,

THE NAVIGATOR.

BY DR. G. M. ASHER, OF HEIDELBERG.


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HENRY HUDSON, THE NAVIGATOR.



HENRY HUDSON is known to most educated men as the discoverer of Hudson's River, Hudson's Strait, and Hudson's Bay. Very few persons, however, have tried to obtain a more intimate knowledge of this remarkable character. Yet, besides the importance of his voyages, his career offers a great and unique moral interest. More than any other man Hudson has identified himself with one sole idea, in the service of which he laboured with matchless heroism. All these valiant efforts were in vain, and led him to a frightful martyrdom. And yet he owes to these same fruitless achievements a justly-earned renown, greater than that at which he aimed.

Hudson's one idea, *to discover a short route to Asia by the North*, was not of Hudson's creation. It owed, in various shapes, its origin to that great and all but unknown man, Sebastian Cabot, the discoverer of the mainland of America, and the founder of England's maritime power. A large amount of glorious enterprise had already, in 1607, been produced by his plans; and by the voyages his ideas gave rise to the names of John and Sebastian Cabot, of Cortereal, Verazzano, Gomez, Davis, Willoughby, Chancellor, Barents, Heemskerck, Linschoten, and many others of minor note, had become historical.

All these labours, however, and those of Hudson's like them, were doomed to be fruitless as regarded their main purpose, for their object is beyond the reach of man. All the short northern routes to Asia are blocked up by permanent icefields, and can therefore never become practicable for ships. Yet, in spite of their fruitlessness, these bold ventures belong to the most important events that history records. To them England owes her American

discoveries and colonies, her sway of the ocean, her fisheries of cod and whale, her trans-Atlantic and northern trade; in short, that progress by which from a kingdom of very limited power she has risen to the first place among the empires of ancient and modern times. It is to the consequences of these same apparently fruitless undertakings that the United States owe their existence, the Dutch their freedom and glory, the Russians their connexion with the west of Europe. When we consider what the fate of Europe would have been without the victory of England and the Netherlands over Spain, we may almost be justified in placing the importance of the early northern voyages even above that of Columbus's magnificent discovery.

The scientific results of the northern expeditions were, however, up to Hudson's time, much less satisfactory than any one unacquainted with the scientific methods of those days would be able to imagine. Longitudes, which are at present determined by means of the chronometer, could, in the sixteenth century, not be calculated at sea. The necessary consequence was an extreme want of accuracy in the laying down of new discoveries. Some instances of these errors appear almost beyond belief to the modern reader. Thus Sir Hugh Willoughby discovered, in 1553, a part of the coast of Nova Zembla. This discovery was afterwards placed by English geographers on the coast of Spitzbergen—a mistake about equal to that which would be committed by confounding the coast of Ireland with that of Sicily. Through errors of a similar nature, mainland appeared as islands, icefields as coasts, rivers as estuaries, and the same coast-line was sometimes drawn, from different surveys, under different names, two, three, and even four times, on the same map.

But even these scientific results extended nowhere, except in Europe, beyond the arctic circle. The polar regions of Asia and America were worse than unknown. For the unknown spaces had not been left blank on the maps. They had been filled up, partly from vague indications of the ancients, partly from the scientific dreams of modern scholars, with imaginary coast-lines which were of course very wide from the truth. Thus the celebrated Dutch geographer, Henry Hond, with whom Hudson was acquainted, boldly asserted that Asia does not extend beyond the fiftieth degree of northern latitude—a mistake by which a tract of country far greater than the whole of Europe is absolutely ignored.

These mistakes of the geographers led Hudson, as we learn from incidental notices in his journal, into the erroneous belief by which all his efforts were prompted. He was led to think that the discovery of a short northern route to China, was a feasible, though not an easy task ; and he was determined to solve the problem, or, as he himself said, "to give reasons wherefore it would not be." Not less than six different routes were thus tried by him in the short space of four years, from 1607 to 1611. We must look on a map of the arctic regions to understand these various efforts and the causes of their failure.

Three large arctic islands, or groups of islands, are placed to the north-west, north, and north-east of Europe : Greenland, Spitzbergen, and Nova Zembla. We know at present a fact which Hudson first discovered : that the sea between the northern parts of these three mainlands is itself also almost like a mainland. Sometimes in immense and closely packed floes, in many places as one unbroken surface, the ice stretches from Greenland to the north of Spitzbergen, and from Spitzbergen to the north of Nova Zembla.

When we leave the European waters, and turn to Asia and America, the prospects of the northern explorer who tries to find a navigable route to China do not become more cheerful.

The frontier between the arctic seas of Europe and Asia is marked by the group of islands called Nova Zembla, which rises, in the shape of an upright half moon, from the coast of Russia into the Northern Ocean. The sea or bay which is situated on the Asiatic side in the inner part of the crescent, the Sea of Kora, is even in midsummer covered with mighty floes, between which the navigation is extremely hazardous, and in many places impossible, even to the hardiest and most experienced seamen. In spite of its energy and the skill and perseverance of its captains, the Russian Government has not yet been able to trace the east coast of Nova Zembla.

Yet, even if arrived beyond the Sea of Kora, the navigator has made no real progress on his way to China ; he has yet before him the thousands of miles of Siberia's northern coast, no part of which is accessible to ordinary navigation. Even the Russia expeditions, by which the easiest parts of this coast have been explored, are reckoned among the boldest maritime adventures. And there exists no well authenticated record of any but

Siberian vessels that have at all penetrated to the north coast of Siberia.

While the prospects in the East are thus entirely destroyed by the science of our days, those in the West are not by any means more encouraging, although they have called forth a much larger amount of exertion. The first attempt to find a route by the north of the American continent almost coincides with the discovery of that continent itself, and the last of a long series of efforts to discover a north-west passage have been made but yesterday. Yet no vessel has really penetrated from the Atlantic to the Pacific through the north-western passage.

Of all these impossibilities none appeared as impossibilities to Hudson's contemporaries; and, though beset with difficulties, a number of chances of a short northern route to China seemed to exist. Hudson himself tried not less than six of these delusive hopes. He attempted:—

1. To sail across the North Pole (1607).
2. To sail eastward by the north of Spitzbergen (1607).
3. To enter the Arctic Ocean between Spitzbergen and Nova Zembla (1608).
4. To penetrate through the Nova Zembla group into the sea of Kora (1608).
5. To find a north-western passage, in those parts where New York is at present situated (1609).
6. To reach the Pacific through the strait and bay which now bear Hudson's own name (1610-1611).

It is curious that Hudson missed the only route which may perhaps, under favourable circumstances, allow some isolated craft to force its way from one ocean to the other—namely, the route on which Sir John Franklin perished. But it can hardly be questioned that Hudson, had he lived longer, would have tried that chance also.

He began his career as a northern explorer in the service of the Company of Merchant Adventurers, which had been founded by Sebastian Cabot, in 1553, expressly for the purpose of trading with India and China by a north-eastern route. The numerous attempts made by the Company in order to realize the founder's idea proved of course fruitless. They led, however, to the establishment of a lucrative trade with Russia, and through Russia with Persia and Tartary. The dangers and difficulties of the voyage to

Archangel became thus familiar to a noble school of English seamen who laid the foundation for England's oceanic navigation and commerce. Two immense services especially were rendered by Sebastian Cabot and by his company to all future navigators: the invention and development of the logbook, and the systematic observation of the variations of the needle. The journals kept by the seamen in the Company's service differ, indeed, but little from those of the present day, while all the accounts of voyages undertaken prior to 1553 are more like the random narratives of tourists than like maritime records. And, of all the early journals of the Merchant Adventurers, none are equal to those of Henry Hudson. He is especially distinguished by adding to the logbook a new feature—the observation of the dip of the magnetic needle.

We have already seen that Hudson's first attempt was to reach Japan and China by passing the North Pole. This plan had been suggested in 1527 by Robert Thorne, a Seville merchant, who seems to have been under Sebastian Cabot's influence. Up to 1607 the plan had not been tested; and Hudson, too, soon discovered how impracticable it was.*

Hudson left Gravesend the 1st of May, 1607, reached Shetland the 26th of the same month, and the Greenland coast the 13th of June. He tells us that he hoped to find an open sea, instead of the northern parts of Greenland which his chart indicated. But, although that chart was not correct in all its details, Hudson's first hope proved delusive. He did not any more succeed in finding a passage through the ice between Greenland and Spitzbergen; and the search after such a passage led him rapidly along that undulating north-easterly line which the arctic ice bank between Spitzbergen and Greenland describes in summer time. He thus reached Spitzbergen the 27th of June. Here he made again, and with no more success, an attempt similar to that he had made off the Greenland shore. He tried to force his way through the Spitzbergen group eastwards, but found solid land where he desired to discover the open sea. Not less in vain were his efforts to pass eastwards or northwards by the north of the Spitzbergen group. Everywhere the way was blocked up by boundless icefields. The whole of the month of July having been spent in these fruitless endeavours,

* We shall not trouble the reader with such geographical details as only a thorough acquaintance with arctic geography would enable him to understand; and we shall therefore devote but a few lines to Hudson's first voyage.

Hudson shaped his course homewards the 1st of August. On his home voyage he accidentally discovered an island under 71° N. lat., which he called Hudson's Touches, and which has since been called Jan Mayen Island by the Dutch. Hudson's name has not yet been restored to this island by English geographers, although claimed for it with unquestionable evidence more than five years ago.

This first voyage of Henry Hudson had one highly important result. It led to the establishment of the arctic fisheries both of the English and Dutch, which, besides their great economical value, have mightily contributed in forming an army of skilful and dauntless seamen.

Hudson's second voyage, in 1608, which was again undertaken for the Merchant Adventurers, offers still fewer points of interest. It merely served to destroy some of the delusive hopes of a northeasterly route to China hitherto entertained by geographers.

Having ascertained by his first voyage that there was no hope of penetrating between Greenland and Spitzbergen, Hudson's new plan was to enter the Arctic Ocean between Spitzbergen and Nova Zembla. He left London the 22d of April, 1608. The 11th of June he was in lat. $75^{\circ} 24'$ N., between Spitzbergen and Nova Zembla, engaged in his struggles against the floes and fields of ice.

After only a week's vain exertions, the 18th of June this struggle had to be given up, and Hudson had to sail southwards. He now tried a course similar to those of the preceding year. Misled by his charts, he sought to go eastwards through the Nova Zembla group; but, where he had hoped to meet with an open passage, the unbroken coast-line continued with pitiless perseverance. On the 6th of July the fruitlessness of this effort had become evident, and only one apparent chance remained in those quarters—to enter the Sea of Kora by the open passage between Russia and Nova Zembla. But it was already too late for such an attempt, and Hudson's vessel was not fitted for the already well-known dangers of the Sea of Kora; Hudson therefore returned towards home on the 6th of July. Regretting the loss of the finest part of the season, he was tempted yet to sail to the northwest, and to explore the mouth of the strait that now bears his name. This idea, however, he gave up for the present, and reached home the 26th of August.

Hudson's account of the second voyage contains the following justly celebrated passage:—

“This morning (June 15th, 1608, lat. $75^{\circ} 7'$ N.) one of our companie looking overboard saw a mermaid, and, calling up some of the companie to see her, one more came up, and by that time shee was come close to the ship's side, looking earnestly on the men ; a little after a sea came and overturned her. From the navill up ward, her backe and breasts were like a woman's, as they say that saw her, her body as big as one of us, her skin very white, and long haire hanging down behind, of colour blacke ; in her going down they saw her tayle, which was like the tayle of a porpasse, and speckled like a macrell. Their names that saw her were Thomas Hills and Robert Rayner.”

The two failures of 1607 and 1608 seem to have discouraged the Company of Merchant Adventurers from further pursuing the scheme of the north-eastern search. Hudson, however, firmly adhered to his idea, and a very short time after his return to England he followed a call to another quarter, where better prospects were held out to him. At the close of the year 1608 we meet him in Holland, already perfectly familiar with the leading personages in nautical enterprise and geographical science, such as Peter Plancius, Isaac Lemaire, Henry Hondius. He even became mixed up in a very singular manner with the Dutch political conflicts that were then at their height. Without deviating in the least from his one and only purpose of finding a northern route to China, and most probably without understanding the motives of those he was dealing with, Hudson entered into negotiations with both of the great political parties of Holland who were bidding against each other for his services. In this bidding a still more important personage, the envoy of Henry IV., of France, the celebrated Jeannin, took an active part on behalf of his master.

The struggles of the two parties between whom Hudson was thus bandied about had so great an influence on the consequences of his third voyage that we cannot help entering at some length into the different subjects of this Dutch party strife—a subject of great intrinsic interest, and of some importance for the history of England's home and foreign affairs.

The war between Spain and the Netherlands had the effect of transferring all those brilliant features by which Belgium had been distinguished up to Philippe I.'s time—her commerce, industry, learning and art—to the northern provinces which shook off the Spanish yoke, and especially to Holland. All the principal towns

of Holland still bear the architectural stamp of their perfect renewal at the end of the sixteenth century. The seemingly miraculous growth of the Dutch republic was indeed nothing but a transplantation of the most vigorous elements from the south to the north, and the destruction of Belgium's prosperity was its necessary consequence.

This state of things was definitively settled by the truce of 1609, by which Spain recognised the independence of the northern Netherlands, while these gave up, for twelve years, the war with Spain. The treaty contained one of the most infamous stipulations ever invented by diplomatists, the closing of the river Scheldt. It fortified the iron rule of papistic persecutions in Belgium, cut off all hope of the return of the Protestant emigrants, and thus doomed Belgium to that perpetual despondency from which she suffered during more than two centuries, and only recovered within our own recollections.

Such a treaty was for the native Hollanders like a double victory over Spain and over Belgium. Very different, however, were the feelings with which it was regarded by the emigrants from Belgium—a body of nearly a million, which contained the very quintessence of everything that had formerly made Belgium, and had now made Holland, a powerful state. These emigrants contended—perhaps with truth, perhaps with the ordinary delusion of emigrants—that by an honest continuation of the war with Spain the Spaniards must be driven from Belgium also. The Orange family, whose interests lay in the same direction, shared the same views. Another scarcely less powerful ally was the grudge of the lower trading classes, especially in the towns, against the powerful families who ruled the cities of Holland and the country itself, as deputies from the cities in the estates of Holland.

The party into which these three elements were combined centred in the Calvinistic clergy, who consisted almost exclusively of Belgians. Having sprung from a war in defence of the Protestant religion, the party was naturally ruled and kept together by its preachers. Of so much importance, indeed, was this religious standard, that the adversaries also felt obliged to raise a theological banner, on which they inscribed the name of Arminius.

The well known maxims of Church government, set forth by that celebrated Dutch divine, had originally no other purpose than to suit the interests of the oligarchs, whom they delivered from the

power of the Calvinist ministers. Arminians and oligarchs were convertible terms.

These two parties, the Calvinistic and the Arminian, lasted down to the French Revolution of 1789. They are not even now quite extinct. Formed gradually during the war with Spain, the two parties had assumed their definite shape in 1607 and 1608.

It was in the midst of the turmoil of their struggle that Hudson arrived in Holland.

But what had the party strife to do with the north-eastern search?

The glorious beginning of Holland's maritime success had been mainly the work of the Belgian emigrants. Belgian merchants, settled in various towns of the northern provinces, had first started ships for oceanic commerce. The Belgian emigrants had also hit upon the singularly happy and fruitful idea of turning the science of geography into a weapon against the King of Spain. The fathers of modern map-making, Gemma, Ortelius, and Mercator, were Belgians, and, though themselves Roman Catholics, yet closely connected with the Protestants. Their followers, Hulsius, the De Brys, Bertuis, De Laet, Cluverius, Jodarus, and Henry Hondius, and especially Peter Plancius, were all of them Belgians and Belgian emigrants. Plancius, a most ardent Calvinistic preacher, and one of the heads of the Calvinistic party, had opened at Amsterdam, a school of navigation, to the influence of which all the early voyages of the Dutch can be distinctly traced back. With regard to the search for a short northern route, and to all northern search in general, Plancius held very nearly the same positions as Sir John Barrow held, and Sir Roderick Murchison holds, in our days. Plancius's most cherished pupils, William Barents and Jacob Heemskerck, had won imperishable laurels by their north-eastern voyages; and, when Barents' companions returned from their celebrated wintering at Nova Zembla, where Barents himself had perished, Plancius's house was the first place they repaired to.

But the vigilant chief of the Holland nativists, John Oldenbarnevelt, did not allow the power which the early maritime successes created to remain in the hands of his political adversaries. He established, in 1602, the great East India Company, whose government was from the beginning, and always remained, with the Arminians. This company had, to the exclusion of all other

Dutch citizens, the privilege of trading to the East by the way of the Cape of Good hope, and by the Straits of Magellan. The trade by the northern route that was yet to be discovered was however, not included in the privilege.

When Hudson first arrived in Holland, he had been called there by the East India Company. After some negotiations with him they told him that, while the question of the truce with Spain was pending, they would not enter into any new enterprise. They gave him a retaining fee, and claimed his services for the year 1610. These transactions took place in December 1608, or in the beginning of January 1609.

But in the meanwhile, the Belgians had not been idle. One of their principal merchants and shipowners, Isaac Lemaire, tried to persuade Jeannin, the envoy of Henry IV., to engage Hudson, and thus to forestall the East India Company. The voyage was to be taken on joint account, under Lemaire's name, Henry furnishing but the very moderate sum of three or four thousand crowns (*écus*). Jeannin's letter which informs Henry IV. of this negotiation, is an extremely valuable document for the history of commerce. It is not less curious from the insight it gives into Plancius's and Lemaire's illusions concerning the extreme north. These illusions have, unfortunately, not been quite dispelled even at the present day, and some of them still figure among the hopes and plans of Professor Petermann. May they not again bear bitter fruits!

Although the transaction between Jeannin and Hudson was to be a profound secret, it became, like most secrets, known to the persons whom it concerned; and the Amsterdam directors of the East India Company determined to send Hudson at once, in 1609, against the advice of their Zeeland colleagues, who were by this time convinced that the north-eastern route to China was a mere dream.

The vessel which Hudson obtained for his voyage, the *Half Moon*, was, in size, like those the English company had supplied to him. It was a small flat-bottomed craft of the kind then generally used in the Dutch coasting trade, and manned with a crew of sixteen, partly English, partly Dutch. The Englishmen were, as far as their names are known, from among Hudson's former companions. They must, therefore, have come to Holland for the express purpose of again joining in the northern expedition. The

Dutch sailors, on the contrary, accustomed to East India, were ill-adapted for a polar voyage.

Hudson originally intended to undertake again a north-eastern search, most probably through the open strait south of Nova Zembla (Nassau Strait), and then go through the Kora Sea. Scarcely, however, had he arrived in the neighbourhood of Nova Zembla when a mutiny broke out among the crew, the Dutch sailors refusing to battle with the ice. Hudson then laid before them two proposals: "to undertake a search through Davis's Strait, or to go to the coast of America, to the latitude of 40° . This idea had been suggested to him by some letters and maps which his friend Captain Smith had sent to him from Virginia, and by which he informed him that there was a sea leading into the western ocean by the north of the southern English colony."*

Captain John Smith, the founder of the English empire in North America, had married the daughter of an Indian chief. It is, therefore, probable that he had received from the Indians some vague account of the great Western lakes, which induced him to mistake these ocean-like waters for the Pacific. It would even seem as if Hudson himself had communicated Smith's opinions to his friends in Holland. For the Dutch geographer, Hessel Gerritsz, the first writer who spread Hudson's reputation, and, like Hudson, a friend of Peter Plancius, asserted in 1612 that, *according to the unanimous testimony of the Virginians and Floridans*, their country is to the west washed by a wide sea, and Gerritsz identifies that sea with the Pacific.

Hudson's crew accepted the search indicated by Captain Smith, which offered them no danger of cold and ice-fields. The 14th of May the *Half Moon* left the neighbourhood of Nova Zembla. Having arrived in the American waters, near the coast of Nova Scotia, in the beginning of July, Hudson examined the whole sea-shore from Nova Scotia down to the mouth of the Delaware. But the records by which the memory of this part of the explorations is handed down offer little interest at the present day. Of Hudson's own journal only a few scraps have been preserved in the Dutch

* Virginia as opposed to New England. The above passage is from Van Meteren's chronicle, and can almost with certainty be traced back to Hudson himself. Van Meteren died in 1612, only two years after Hudson's return from the third voyage. Florida is a very vague term. Even in the 17th century the natives of the State of New York were sometimes called Floridans.

translation. Those notes of his companions in which the voyage along the coast of the United States is described are of a strictly nautical character. They do not even allude to Hudson's one leading purpose, the search for a north-western strait ; and they do not allow us to watch the continual rising and vanishing of his illusive hopes.

From the Delaware Hudson returned northwards along the coast, and on the 2d (12th, new style) of September, 1609, he made the discovery which has most illustrated his name. On that day he entered the mouth of Hudson's River.

In the river's mouth nearly a week was spent. Then Hudson sailed up the river till he arrived, on the 16th, near what is now the city of Albany. Here the river becomes too shallow for large vessels. This fact having been ascertained by a boat sent a few miles higher up to take soundings, Hudson began his home-voyage the 28th. Having dropped slowly down the river, he was, the 5th of October, again on the open sea.

The narratives of this earliest voyage up and down Hudson River abound with anecdotes of encounters, some friendly, some hostile, with the natives. We shall select a few of the most characteristic ; Hudson himself tells :*

" I sailed to the shore in one of their canoes, with an old man who was the chief of a tribe, consisting of forty men and seventeen women ; these I saw there in a house well constructed of oak bark, and circular in shape, so that it had the appearance of being well built, with an arched roof. It contained a great quantity of maize, or Indian corn, and beans of the last year's growth, and there lay near the house, for the purpose of drying, enough to load three ships, besides what was growing in the fields. On our coming into the house, two mats were spread out to sit upon, and immediately some food was served in well-made red wooden bowls ; two men were also despatched at once, with bows and arrows, in quest of game, who soon after brought in a pair of pigeons which they had shot. They likewise killed a fat dog, and skinned it in great haste with shells which they had got out of the water. They supposed that I would remain with them for the night, but I returned after a short time on board the ship. The land is the finest for cultivation that I ever in my life set foot upon, and it also abounds in trees of

* Retranslated from the Dutch translation of De Laet. The original is lost.

every description. The natives are a very good people, for when they saw that I would not remain, they supposed that I was afraid of their bows, and taking the arrows, they broke them in pieces, and threw them into the fire."

In a very different spirit are nearly all the observations on the Indians made by Juet, one of Hudson's most constant companions, an able man, but of a very bad character, to whose influence the exposure and death of Hudson in Hudson's Bay is mainly to be attributed. Juet tells :—

"The people of the country came aboard of us, making show of love, and gave us tobacco and Indian wheat, and departed for that night, but we durst not trust them. . . .

"This morning there came eight-and-twentie canoes full of men, women, and children to betray us,* but we saw their intent, and suffered none of them to come aboard of us. At twelve of the clocke they departed. They brought with them oysters and beanes, whereof we bought some. They have great tobacco pipes of yellow copper, and pots of earth to dresse their meat in. . . .

"In the morning two great canoes came aboard full of men, the one with their bowes and arrowes, and the other in show of buying knives, to betray us, but we perceived their intent. Wee took two of them to have kept them, and put red coates on them, and would not suffer the others to come near us. So they went on land, and two others came aboard in a canoe ; we tooke the one and let the other goe ; but hee which we had taken got up and leapt overboard. . . .

"This morning oure two savages got out of a port, and swam away. After we were under sayle they called to us in scorne. . . .

"The people of the mountaynes came aboard us, wondering at our ship and weapons. We bought some skinnes of them for trifles. This afternoone one canoe kept hanging under our sterne with one man in it, which we could not keep from there, who got up in our rudder, to the cabin's window, and stole out my pillow, and two shirts, and two bandeliers. Our master's mate shot at him, and strooke him on the brest, and killed him. Whereupon all the rest fled away, some in their canoes, and so leapt out of them into the water. We manned our boat, and got our things again.

* The intentions of the indians were evidently of a friendly nature. No Indian war-party would have been accompanied by women and children.

Then one of them that swamme got hold of our boat, thinking to overthrow it. But our cooke took a sword, and cut off one of his hands, and he was drowned."

Only once Juet does full justice to the natives :—

"There wee found very loving people and very old men : where we were well used.

But even the following charming anecdote is spoilt by the hostile tone in which it is told :—

"And our master and his mate determined to trie some of the chiefe men of the countrey, whether they had any treacherie in them. So they took them down into the cabbin and gave them so much wine and *aqua vitæ* that they were all merrie : and one of them had his wife with him, which sate so modestly as any of our countreywomen would do in a strange place. In the ende one of them was drunke, which had been aboard of our ship all the time that we had beene there : and that was strange to them ; for they could not tell how to take it. The canoes and folks went all on shore : but some of them came againe, and brought stropes of beades—some had six, seven, eight, nine, ten—and gave him. So he slept all night quietly. . . .

"The people of the countrey came not aboard till noone, but when they came and saw the savages well, they were glad. So at three of the clocke, in the afternoone, they came aboard and brought tobacco, and more beades, and gave them to our master, and made an oration, and showed him all the countrey round about. Then they sent one of their companie on land, who presently returned, and brought a great platte full of venison dressed by themselves ; and they caused him to eat with them ; then they made him reverence, and departed, all save the old man that lay aboard."

This first acquaintance with the effects of the fire water—for them not an *aqua vitæ*, but a water of death—remained still vivid in the Indians' memory two hundred years after its occurrence, as German missionaries among them testify.

The great difference between Hudson's and Juet's appreciation of the natives is but one instance, and a very mild one, of the dissensions between the master and his crew. The whole plan of the voyage had already been altered by their mutinous behaviour, which was about to exercise a still more decisive influence on Hudson's fate. By preventing his return to Holland, it mainly con-

tributed to lead him to the vast and dreary inland sea which bears his name—at once the site and the immense monument of his martyrdom.

For, when the *Half Moon* was again out of the mouth of the river, the whole crew unanimously refused to return to Holland. This seemed to Hudson so sinister a symptom that he could not even be induced to accept his mate's proposal, else so alluring to him, of passing the winter on Newfoundland, and starting at the very beginning of the next season for a search in Davis's Strait. Hudson tried, seemingly with perfect success, to persuade the crew to winter in Ireland. But, when they neared the British Islands, a renewed mutiny compelled him to direct his course to Dartmouth harbour, on the coast of Devonshire. Here he arrived the 7th of December, 1609. In Dartmouth a new and most fatal disappointment awaited him. While the storms of autumn and winter retarded his intercourse with his employers in Holland, the English Government, in January 1610, laid an embargo on the persons of Hudson and of his English companions.

Hudson's plan had been to undertake in the next season but a short search, from the middle of May to the middle of September, and then to return to Holland. Although this plan was frustrated, he was not to remain idle. A new company was formed in England for the express purpose of Hudson's explorations. It is curious how mighty were the efforts by which one vessel of very moderate dimensions, with a crew of only twenty-four persons, including all the officers, was fitted out. Hudson's new employers were, besides the Company of Merchant Adventurers and the East India Company :—

Henry Charles, Earl of Northampton, Keeper of the Privy Seal; Charles, Earl of Nottingham, Admiral of England; Thomas, Earl of Suffolk, Lord Chamberlain; Henry, Earl of Southampton; Villiers, Earl of Salisbury; Theophilus, Lord Walden; Sir Thomas Smith Mansell; Sir Walter Hope; Sir Dudley Diggs; Sir James Lancerratt; Rebecca, Lady Romney; Francis Jones, Alderman; John Wolstenholme, Esq; John Edred, Robert Sandy, William Greenwell, Nicholas Leats, Hovet Stopers, William Russell, John Mericks, Abraham Chamberlaine, Philipp Barlomathis, merchants of the city of London.

The real merit of having started the expedition belongs, however, neither to the two mighty companies, nor to the noble patrons, but

to three gentlemen whose names are in the above long list not to be distinguished from the crowd of other names—to Sir Dudley Diggs, Sir Thomas Smith, and John Wolstenholme, Esq. Purchas, the historian of the expedition, mentions no other name but theirs; and Hudson gratefully inscribed those of Sir Dudley Diggs and John Wolstenholme on the passage which forms the entrance gate from Hudson's Strait to Hudson's Bay. Sir Thomas Smith's name was afterwards given by Baffin to Smith's Sound.

Hudson's intention was from the beginning of this voyage the same which he carried out: to search for a route to the Pacific through the strait now called Hudson's Strait. This search was so far prepared by anterior north-western expeditions that much of the groping movements which mostly mark voyages of discovery was saved to Hudson. Frobisher had already, in 1576, found a strait parallel and close to Hudson's Strait. Davis, one of the greatest of northern navigators, had spent the three seasons of 1585, 1586, and 1589, in examining the shores of the strait which justly bears his name. He had even drawn these coasts for the then celebrated globe of Henry Molyneux. The existence of several western straits on the American side of Davis's Strait was therefore, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, a fact generally known among geographers. Nay, Hudson's whole plan had, during his stay in Holland, been discussed between him and Peter Plancius, by whom it was rejected. For Plancius told Hudson that Hudson's Strait is not a way to the Pacific, but a blind alley. Of this fact Plancius had been informed by a seaman who had been at the bottom of the strait and bay. Hudson's immediate predecessor in the north-western search, George Weymouth, had, in 1602, sailed nearly one hundred leagues (three hundred miles) into Hudson's Strait. Hessel Gerritsz and Luke Fox state that Hudson followed Weymouth's footsteps—a statement which some of Hudson's own observations confirm.

It would, therefore, be a great mistake to attribute to Hudson the *discovery* of the strait, in the vulgar sense of the word discovery. His real merit consists in the exploration of the strait—a work of such magnitude that it would alone be sufficient to justify the immortality of his name.

The 17th of April, 1610, Hudson took his last leave from London. His vessel, the bark *Discovery*, sailed with him and his companions from St. Katherine's Pool near London Bridge. An illboding event

marked his very first step. Before he had left the River Thames, the 22d of April, he had to send back a man named Coleburne—by others Colbert or Colbrand—whom Hudson's employers had forced upon him as an assistant and official adviser. It is not surprising that this else absolutely unknown individual has revenged himself on Hudson's memory by pretending that he was the real author of the search through Hudson's Strait—an assertion that is fortunately refuted by Hudson's anterior communications with Peter Plancius.

Having passed the Orkneys and the Faroe Islands, Hudson was the 15th of May near the southern coast of Iceland. He then rounded the south-western point and sailed up along the western shore. But the unusually vehement eruptions of Mount Hecla—which, according to Hudson's opinion, indicated the approach of heavy weather—and especially the compact icefields that yet encircled the north-eastern coast of Iceland, induced our navigator to stay a fortnight in two of the western harbours, Dyre-Fiord and Breyde-Fiord. During this repose they kept Whitsuntide, bathed in the hot springs, shot a vast store of wild fowl, ducks and partridges, plovers, geese, mallard, teal, and curlew. One gun could kill enough to feast the whole company of twenty-three persons. The sea also supplied them with an abundance of fish.

During this stay in Iceland, Juet, Hudson's mate, began to excite the men against the master; and shortly after leaving the shore he threatened to turn the ship's head homewards. This rebellion seemed so serious a matter to Hudson that he at first intended to sail back to Iceland in order to send Juet home by a whaler. He refrained unfortunately from executing this judicious plan, and even maintained Juet in his position.

While they were waiting in Breyde-Fiord, whole islands of ice came off the western coast, and on the 1st of June the sea was already sufficiently cleared to allow their departure. Hudson intended to sail in as direct a line as possible to the mouth of his strait. But he was forced to adopt a somewhat circuitous course. For the south of Greenland was still encompassed by icefields which stretched far out into the sea. Only on the 25th day after his departure from Iceland, the 24th of June at midnight, Hudson entered his strait from the north, in latitude $60^{\circ} 17' N$.

A geographical account of the voyage through the strait would not only fatigue the reader; it would even be of very doubtful

value. The maps and charts of Hudson's Strait are still in the highest degree unsatisfactory; and conclusions based upon their comparison with Hudson's journals would rarely make us obtain unquestionable facts. We have nevertheless the means of appreciating the greatness of Hudson's achievement and of marking its place in the history of northern discovery.

Hudson has left a map of the strait which is far superior even to Davis and Molyneux's delineation of Davis's Strait; and no other northern map or chart existing at the time can at all be compared to it. From this map, and from the journal and accounts that have been preserved, we can conclude with certainty that Hudson examined both the northern and the southern shore of the strait—an undertaking of such vast difficulty that, without the positive proofs we possess of its having been accomplished, we should hesitate to admit even its possibility.

The strait has a length of more than 600 miles, and an average width at least equal to that of the German Ocean. And so continual are the fogs and mists in those regions that a coast must be approached very closely in order to be investigated. The season of 1610 was, besides, far from favourable to the explorers. The deep bays and recesses of the southern coast were in midsummer still filled with ice which, though loose and drifting, was not the less dangerous to navigation, especially at night, and when foul weather had set in. Hudson first discovered a remedy against such dangers, which has, we believe, often been imitated since. He fastened his vessel to the biggest floe he could lay hold of, and then gaily sported along with it, the floe opening a channel through the ice.

The seeds of mutiny which Juet had sown while they were staying in Iceland showed their first germs when, on the 5th of July, they were so blocked in by icefields that Hudson in his own heart gave up all hope, as he afterwards avowed. Although the crew obeyed his call on their exertions, they began to murmur very loudly, and Juet's voice was once more raised against the captain's. While Hudson even in this extremity believed that he could reach East India by Candlemas (in February 1611) Juet spoke words of bitter mockery, which were but too true, and sounded therefore the more severely.

Some sport was here and there afforded by seals and bears on drifting floes. But even this rare chase was mostly without success;

the seals and bears escaping by diving or jumping on other islands of ice before the boats could approach them. At last the western mouth of the strait was reached, the 2d of August. The 3d of August, 1610, Hudson entered Hudson's Bay.

The island to which Hudson gave the name of his patron, Sir Dudley Diggs, and the opposite cape, which he named after John Wolstenholme, Esq., form a kind of gateway between Hudson's Strait and Hudson's Bay. The islands swarm with fowl of every kind, which the natives of the region catch by an ingenious trick—placing a snare in such manner that the birds caught in it strangle themselves. A large herd of deer was also met with. Yet, to the indignation of his crew, Hudson could not be induced to tarry, but moved on southwards, now evidently confident that the way to China was plain before him. For, on leaving the strait, the coast of Hudson's Bay trends almost directly from the north to the south.

The mistake was, however, too evident to remain long hidden, especially to a man like Juet; and the more the danger of wintering in this dreary region became a certainty, the more Juet's wild mind was roused; and, at last, Hudson was obliged to depose him, the 7th of September, 1610.

After wandering about in the labyrinth of icefields, islands, creeks, and harbours to the south of Hudson's Bay, and finding every rising hope of a through passage to the Pacific almost immediately destroyed, the months of August, September, and October being thus spent, they were frozen in by the 3d of November. A similar misfortune has befallen many Arctic navigators, and frequently in far more trying circumstances. The latitude of Hudson's winter-quarters is only a few miles to the north of that of London. Barents had, in 1596, wintered in latitude 73° N., nearly 1,500 miles further north, and Dr. Kane's wintering took place in latitude 80° , nearly 2,000 miles nearer to the Pole. The gloom of an endless night, which added so much to the horrors both of Kane's and Barents's wintering, was here of course out of the question, as much as in London or Berlin. Hudson's provisions, though not abundant, were yet far more plentiful than those of most navigators who have wintered in the ice; and a number of adventitious additions were made to them by shooting and fishing. Scurvy visited few of the early northern expeditions less severely than Hudson's. Only one man died of this terrible disease, though a good many were more or less afflicted by it.

Yet this trying time, which has so often brought out the most beautiful qualities of the seaman—his steady trust in God, his cheerfulness, his obedience and attachment to his superiors—made a hell of Hudson's ship. The mutinous spirit showed itself without disguise, and Hudson had openly to take precautions for his personal safety. He seized all charts, notes, and writing materials, in order to render it impossible for his crew to return without him. He was exceedingly careful in hoarding a store of provisions, so much so that he increased instead of diminished the distrust of his men, which grew from day to day, and continually threatened to break out in open revolt.

A momentary diversion was made in this state of things by the hope—vain, like all Hudson's hopes—of establishing a regular intercourse with the natives. One of them had been to the ship, and had entered into a bartering negotiation. When Hudson followed his traces, he already perceived that he was close to the encampments. But, when he neared the fires, of which he had seen the smoke, the inhabitants were always gone. Much faster than he, they fled before him. Not even here his illusions left him. From the knife which he had seen that one man wear, and which appeared to him like those of the Mexicans, he concluded that he was near the Pacific Ocean.

He was to empty the cup to the very dregs before the terrible end of the tragedy took place. The mutiny by which he lost his life broke out three days after the vessel had at last been enabled to get away. His departure from his winter-quarters took place the 18th of June. On the 21st of June, 1611, Hudson, with his son John, who had always been his companion, and seven sick men afflicted with scurvy, were exposed in a boat. Their former companions then fled from them at full sail, as if from an enemy.

During the home voyage the principal ringleaders died—Juet from want, in sight of the Irish coast; the others long before, in a fight with the Esquimaux. The remainder reached home towards the middle of September. They were, at their arrival, imprisoned, but they must soon have been released—for Robert Bylas, who had acted as master in the home voyage, acquired a conspicuous place among northern navigators.

The consequences of Hudson's extraordinary career, the energy of which has seldom been approached and never exceeded, are very remarkable. When he suffered the most cruel kind of

martyrdom, a lingering starvation, in the presence of his son and of his faithful companions, who were suffering and dying with him, he must have considered all his dauntless efforts as absolutely fruitless. Yet how much have they produced! The bay and strait have opened up the vast territories which, after having for centuries yielded an inexhaustible supply of furs, are now destined to hold a distinguished place among England's colonial possessions. The first voyage has yielded to England and Holland a fishing trade the proceeds of which amount to millions of money, and which has vastly contributed to develop the energy of English and Dutch seamen. More important still are the consequences of the third voyage. Hudson's own employers, the East India Company of Holland, did not follow up his discoveries, because all West-Indian trade was specially advocated by the Calvinists, as an infringement of the right which the King of Spain pretended to have to the whole of America. Therefore, although some trading to Hudson's River had taken place by a number of adventurers from 1611 to 1620, a regular intercourse began only in 1621, when the West India Company had been established—a specially Calvinistic concern, whose principal aim was to injure the King of Spain. Under the auspices of that powerful company, the fort which had been built in 1614 on the River Hudson gradually developed into a town of importance, the trade of which was already considerable, when, in 1664, it was conquered by an English fleet, and named New York.

